

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00
USIE-00 INRE-00 MCT-01 ACDA-12 COME-00 HA-05 CU-04
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O R 061555Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 101
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMCONSUL ADANA
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMCONSUL IZMIR
DIA WASHDC
USCINCEUR
USDOCOLANDSOUTHEAST IZMIR
USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES
EUCOM

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 0141

DIA FOR DN2

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINS, PORS, SHUM, TU
SUBJECT: POLITICAL TRENDS ANALYSIS: POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND
THE ECEVIT GOVERNMENT

REF: (A) ANKARA 8269 (DTG 101304Z NOV 77), (B) ANKARA 9372
(DTG 281357Z DEC 77), (C) POLITICAL REPORTING PLAN FOR TURKEY

1. SUMMARY: THE RISING TIDE OF POLITICAL KILLINGS (42 IN
DECEMBER ALONE ACCORDING TO ONE LEFTIST NEWSPAPER) AND THE
FAILURE OF THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT TO CONTROL POLITICAL VIOLENCE
PROBABLY CONTRIBUTED TO THAT GOVERNMENT'S DOWNFALL. MINISTER
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OF INTERIOR OZAL, IN TESTIMONY GIVEN TO THE SENATE ON SECURITY
AND FREEDOM OF EDUCATION, PROVIDED FIGURES AND TOLD THE
SENATORS THAT TURKEY'S RAPIDLY ESCALATING VIOLENCE CAN BE
TRACED TO A BREAKDOWN IN AUTHORITY AND MAY PROVE INTRACTABLE
FOR ANY GOVERNMENT. WITH THE COLLAPSE OF THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT,
NATIONALIST ACTION PARTY (NAP) CHIEF TURKES IS PUBLICLY
ATTEMPTING TO PUT SOME DISTANCE BETWEEN HIS PARTY AND LAWLESS

RIGHT-WING GROUPS. PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT, WHO HAS MADE RESTORATION OF ORDER A TOP PRIORITY OF HIS NEW GOVERNMENT AND ITS MAIN HUMAN RIGHTS FOCUS IS EXPECTED TO WAGE A CONCENTRATED CAMPAIGN AGAINST ANARCHY, BUT HIS PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS ARE NOT BRIGHT. END SUMMARY

2. IN THE LAST WEEKS OF THE DEMIREL COALITION, POLITICAL KILLINGS, BOMBINGS, AND BEATINGS REACHED NEW PEAKS. FOLLOWING AN ATTACK ON STUDENTS AT MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY DECEMBER 2 (ANKARA 8837), MEMBERS OF THE SENATE CALLED ON THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR TO EXPLAIN WHAT THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT WAS DOING TO PROVIDE "SECURITY OF LIFE AND FREEDOM OF EDUCATION". MININT OZAL PROVIDED FIGURES IN HIS ASSESSMENT WHICH ATTEST TO THE INCREASING INCIDENCE OF VIOLENCE:

	DEATHS	WOUNDED	BOMBINGS
1975	34	694	9
1976	90	1,555	170
1977	214	2,936	732

HE ADDED THAT SINCE THE THEN-CURRENT DEMIREL GOVERNMENT WAS FORMED LAST JULY, 69 PERSONS HAD BEEN KILLED IN POLITICAL VIOLENCE. OF THOSE KILLED, 23 WERE RIGHTISTS, 18 KNOWN LEFTISTS, 26 WITHOUT IDENTIFIABLE POLITICAL LEANINGS, AND TWO WERE POLICEMEN. (LEFTIST CUMHURİYET LISTS 106 POLITICAL KILLINGS OVER THE SAME PERIOD.) IN HIS REMARKS IN THE SENATE, OZAL SAID THAT VIOLENCE WILL BE A BASIC PROBLEM FOR ANY FUTURE

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TURKISH GOVERNMENT. HE NOTED THAT POLITICAL DISPUTES HAVE SEEPED DOWN EVEN TO ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS AND REPORTED THAT EACH WEEK IN SCHOOLS THERE ARE 130 FIGHTS REPORTED AND AN AVERAGE OF 250-300 STUDENTS ARRESTED. THE VIOLENCE HAS SPREAD BECAUSE OF A BREAKDOWN OF DISCIPLINE AND LACK OF AUTHORITY, HE SAID, AND SECURITY FORCES -- AND EVENTUALLY THE GOVERNMENT -- ARE BLAMED FOR THE SITUATION.

3. AS IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT WAS ON THE VERGE OF FALLING, NAP CHAIRMAN TURKES, WHOSE PARTY HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF SUPPORTING AND PROTECTING VIOLENT RIGHT-WING YOUTH GROUPS WHILE A GOVERNMENT PARTNER, ISSUED STATEMENTS APPARENTLY INTENDED TO PUT DISTANCE BETWEEN HIS PARTY AND THESE GROUPS. IN EARLY DECEMBER, TURKES WARNED THAT THE UNILATERAL TRUCE DECLARED BY THE RIGHT COULD BREAK DOWN IF ATTACKS ON HIS PARTY MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATED GROUPS CONTINUED. IN A NEW YEAR STATEMENT, TURKES CALLED ON TURKS TO RESOLVE THEIR POLITICAL DIFFERENCES FOR THE GOOD OF THE COUNTRY. HE ALSO INVITED TURKEY'S YOUTH TO STAND "SHOULDER TO SHOULDER" AND PUT ASIDE THEIR WEAPONS. ON JANUARY 2, RESPONDING TO REPORTERS' QUESTIONS AFTER BEING NAMED TURKEY'S MAN OF THE YEAR BY A WEEKLY MAGAZINE, YANKI, TURKES DENIED THAT

THE NAP HAS ANY CONTROL OVER THE ACTIVITIES OF LAWLESS RIGHTIST GROUPS. ADMITTING THAT SOME "ULKUCUS" (OR COMMANDOES-- YOUTHS BELIEVED TO BE ALLIED WITH THE NAP) HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN VIOLENCE, TURKES ASSERTED "THEY ARE NOT UNDER THE ORDERS OF THIS PARTY". HE ADDED, "AS A PARTY, WE OPPOSE RESORT TO FORCE".

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ANKARA 0141

DIA FOR DN2

PRIMIN ECEVIT HAS ALREADY ANNOUNCED THAT THE TOP PRIORITY OF HIS GOVERNMENT WILL BE RESTORING ORDER, SECURING FREEDOM OF EDUCATION, AND ENDING ANARCHY. HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST AND AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL VICE PRESIDENT MUMTAZ SOYSAL TOLD US JANUARY 6 THAT THE EFFORT TO RESTORE SECURITY WILL, IN EFFECT, BE ECEVIT'S MAIN HUMAN RIGHTS EFFORT. SOYSAL SAID THAT THE EFFORT TO RE-ESTABLISH THE RULE OF LAW IN PLACE OF VIOLENCE IS MOTIVATED BY CONSIDERATIONS INVOLVING BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS, SUCH AS THE RIGHT TO LIFE, THE RIGHT OF PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY, AND THE RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH.

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5. IN HIS DECEMBER INTERVIEW WITH NEW YORK TIMES CORRESPONDENT NICHOLAS GAGE, ECEVIT REITERATED SOME OF HIS BASIC CONCLUSIONS ABOUT POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN TURKEY. CLAIMING THAT TERRORISM HAS BEEN BASICALLY ONE-SIDED SINCE 1975, ECEVIT TOLD GAGE HE BELIEVES VIOLENCE HAS BEEN INSTIGATED BY ELEMENTS ATTACHED TO THE GOVERNMENT AND ENJOYING GOVERNMENT PROTECTION. HE SAID THAT WHILE THERE HAD BEEN SOME VIOLENCE ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE LEFT, IT WAS DONE IN RETALIATION FOR ATTACKS FROM THE RIGHT OR INCITED BY PROVOCATEURS SEEKING TO DISCREDIT THE LEFT.

6. ALTHOUGH HE HAS NOT YET MADE PUBLIC HIS PROGRAM TO BRING AN END TO POLITICAL VIOLENCE, ECEVIT HAS A NUMBER OF OPTIONS AND FACES SEVERAL FORMIDABLE OBSTACLES.

A. ECEVIT HAS PREVIOUSLY HINTED THAT HE WILL CRACK DOWN ON ARMED RIGHT-WING GROUPS WHICH HE BELIEVES HAVE BEEN PROTECTED AND ENCOURAGED BY SUCCESSIVE DEMIREL GOVERNMENTS. THE RIGHT MAY VERY WELL DECIDE TO FIGHT BACK, AND THERE IS A POSSIBILITY OF VIRTUAL CIVIL WAR BREAKING OUT BETWEEN SECURITY FORCES AND "COMMANDOS".

B. IN THE SECOND HALF OF 1977 UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF MININT OZAL, POLICE REGISTERED NOTABLE SUCCESSES AGAINST VIOLENCE-PRONE, RADICAL LEFTIST ORGANIZATIONS. WE EXPECT ECEVIT TO ENCOURAGE CONTINUED POLICE MEASURES AGAINST SUCH GROUPS TO COUNTERACT CLAIMS THAT THE RPP IS SYMPATHETIC TO THEM AND AVOID ACCUSATIONS OF PARTISANSHIP.

C. ALTHOUGH ECEVIT DENIES IT, WE BELIEVE THAT MORE MODERATE LEFTIST GROUPS HAVE PARTICIPATED IN VIOLENCE IN RECENT MONTHS TO HELP CREATE A CLIMATE FOR THE COLLAPSE OF THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT. NOW THAT DEMIREL HAS FALLEN AND ECEVIT IS IN POWER, WE PRESUME THESE GROUPS WILL ATTEMPT TO AVOID CLASHES OR CONFRONTATION WHICH COULD BE USED BY ECEVIT'S OPPONENTS AGAINST HIS GOVERNMENT.

D. ECEVIT IS CONFIDENT OF HIS PERSONAL POWERS OF
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PERSUASION, AND JAWBONING WILL BE AN ASPECT OF HIS PROGRAM TO CURB ANARCHY. HE HAS REVIVED THE CABINET-LEVEL COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED DURING HIS SHORT BRUSH WITH POWER LAST SUMMER WHICH WILL APPARENTLY ATTEMPT TO CREATE AN INTEGRATED SECURITY PROGRAM.

E. HE WILL HAVE TO CONSIDER WAYS TO WIN THE SUPPORT OF TURKEY'S POORLY TRAINED AND EQUIPPED POLICE FORCES. MANY POLICE ARE REPORTED TO BE HOSTILE TO THE RPP. ECEVIT MAY FIND IT DIFFICULT TO ENLIST THEIR BACKING FOR HIS MEASURES. A

KEY REQUIREMENT WILL BE TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE POLICE-- AND TO THE WARRING FACTIONS AS WELL--THAT HIS GOVERNMENT IS FIRMLY IN POWER, IS DETERMINED TO STAY THERE, AND HAS A CLEAR POLICY.

F. THE NEW MINISTER OF INTERIOR, IRFAN OZAYDINLI, IS A RETIRED AIR FORCE GENERAL. AS MARTIAL LAW COMMANDER IN ESKISEHIR 1971-73, OZAYDINLI RIGOROUSLY ENFORCED THE LAW AGAINST BOTH LEFTISTS AND RIGHTISTS. HE IS KNOWN AS AN ARDENT DEFENDER OF ATATURKISM, WHO WILL PROBABLY BE EVENHANDED IN HIS APPROACH TO OVERCOMING POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND ACCEPTABLE TO THE TURKISH MILITARY.

7. ECEVIT MADE PROVIDING SECURITY OF LIFE AND FREEDOM OF EDUCATION TOP PRIORITIES OF HIS NEW GOVERNMENT EVEN BEFORE ITS FORMATION. "BRINGING AN END TO ARMED CLASHES" IS LISTED PROMINENTLY IN THE JOINT DECLARATION WHICH SERVES AS THE BASIS OF HIS NEW COALITION. ECEVIT HAS REPEATED MANY TIMES IN THE LAST YEAR HIS CONVICTION THAT HE CAN PROVIDE A SOLUTION, AND HAS COMMITTED HIS PERSONAL PRESTIGE TO SOLVING THIS SPREADING PROBLEM. BUT, AS KORKUT OZAL POINTED OUT TO THE SENATE, THE POLITICAL VIOLENCE SEEMS TO BE FIRMLY ROOTED IN TURKISH SOCIETY AT THIS POINT, AND IT MAY PRESENT AN INSUPERABLE CHALLENGE TO ANY TURKISH GOVERNMENT. HAVING COMMITTED HIMSELF, ECEVIT IS IN A POSITION WHERE HE MUST DEMONSTRATE REAL PROGRESS OR RUN THE RISK OF OPENING HIMSELF TO OPPOSITON CRITICISM AND AN UNDERCUTTING OF HIS GOVERNMENT'S AUTHORITY.

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